

those days the journeys made were short ones, the camp 000 travelling but a few miles.

In moving the camp in ancient days, the heaviest and 484 bulkiest things to be transported were the lodges. These 492 were sometimes very large, often consisting of thirty cow-skins, and, when set up, containing two or three fires like this  or in ground plan like this . [342]

The skins of these large lodges were sewn together in strips, [354] of which there would be sometimes as many as four; and, when the lodge was set up, these strips were pinned together as the front of a common lodge is pinned to-day. The dogs carried the provisions, tools, and utensils, sometimes the lodge strips, if these were small enough, or anything that was heavy, and yet could be packed in small compass; for since dogs are small animals, and low standing, they cannot carry bulky burdens. Still, some of the dogs were large enough to carry a load of one hundred pounds. Dogs also [493] ● hauled the travois, on which were bundles and sometimes babies. This was not always a safe means of transportation for infants, as is indicated by an incident related by John Monroe's mother as having occurred in her father's time. The camp, on foot of course, was crossing a strip of open prairie lying between two pieces of timber, when a herd of buffalo, stampeding, rushed through the marching column. The loaded dogs rushed after the buffalo, dragging the travois after them and scattering their loads over the prairie. Among the lost chattels were two babies, dropped off somewhere in the long grass, which were never found.

There were certain special customs and beliefs which 576 were a part of the every-day life of the people. 276

In passing the pipe when smoking, it goes from the host, who takes the first smoke, to the left, passing from hand to hand to the door. It may not be passed across the door to the man on the other side, but must come back,—no one smoking,—pass the host, and go round to the man

[ca. 1850]

THE STAFF OF LIFE

Women who dressed thousands of robes for the fur trade each year also prepared hairy buffalo robes for the winter overclothing and bedding of their own families. Robes were cut up to make hair-lined mittens, winter caps with ear flaps, winter moccasins, and ceremonial headdresses. 294 291

Soft-dressed buffalo skins without the hair were used for lodge covers and linings, for pad saddles, and for winding sheets for the dead. The smoke-softened upper portions of old, worn lodge covers were salvaged, cut up, and reused for breechclouts and items of winter clothing—men's and boys' shirts, women's and girls' dresses, and leggings for both sexes. The thinner skins of buffalo calves were made into tobacco pouches and winter underpants worn by girls and women. 237 342 492 764 291 415 415 283 492 524 531 412 534 492 381 283

Buffalo horns made practical powder flasks for Blackfoot warriors. Horns were also fashioned into spoons, cups, and ladles. The long, shaggy hair of the head, beard, and shoulders was braided into rope halters and bridles. Hair supplied the soft stuffing for pad saddles and balls used in games. Hair ornaments hung from lodges, headdresses, and war clubs. The buffalo's tail also was used for tipi ornaments. Mounted on a stick, the tail served as a fly brush. Buffalo hoofs strung on rawhide cords made noisy rattles. The scrotum of a bull provided a durable stirrup cover. The Blackfoot Indians derived their best glue from a bull's phallus, cut into small pieces and boiled. 281 283

No less useful were many of the internal parts of this animal. Buffalo sinew supplied thread for sewing and a strong, flat cord for binding heads and feathers to arrowshafts. Bow strings and bow backings were both of twisted bull sinew. The brains, liver, and fat were rubbed into hides to soften them during the skin-dressing process. Buffalo fat also was used to polish stone tobacco pipes and to mix with earth pigments to provide an oily base for paints. A yellow paint could be obtained from the buffalo's gallstone. Water buckets were made from the paunch, and the bladder was used as a bag for marrow grease. 281 324 386 415

The boss rib of a buffalo made a serviceable tool for straightening arrowshafts. A series of curved ribbones furnished the runners for a boy's sled. 412 493

[ca. 1850]

ALL IN FUN

to come out and wrestle any member of his side that boy might choose. The challenged boy stepped forward and pulled the fellow he wished to wrestle to his feet by the hair of his head. They struggled until one of them was knocked off his feet. Wrestling continued until one boy defeated four successive opponents. Then all the boys of both sides joined in a general melee. They tried to strike members of the opposite side by kicking backwards like horses. One old informant recalled, "If you got kicked in the thigh, you really knew it." 526

Winter brought an end to fair-weather games and sports, as well as to swimming in the rivers or lakes near camp, all of which Blackfoot children loved. But boys and girls had no less fun on the snowy hills and ice-covered rivers near their winter camps. Coasting down the steep slopes and out on the valley floor was always popular. Girls rode on raw buffalo hides. It is said that their mothers watched these hides closely. If a girl returned home with a hide that had become worn soft, her mother took it from her to cut up for moccasin soles or rawhide rope. Boys used cleverly made sleds with five to ten buffalo rib-bone runners. The ribs were separated from the backbone and reassembled in exactly the same order. They were tied together tightly at each end by a rawhide rope that wound around a cross-piece of split willow. The seat was a piece of the leg skin of a buffalo, tied at each end to the willow crossbars. A buffalo-tail ornament was sewed or tied to the rear of the seat. A rawhide rope, tied to the front end, served to pull the sled uphill and to guide it in sliding down. Before riding on the sled, the owner pulled it around in the snow until the runners were coated with ice. In coasting, the boy sat on the hide seat, leaned well back, and balanced his weight by extending his legs forward and upward at an angle. He held the rawhide rope in his hands and jerked it to one side if he wished to turn his sled. The buffalo-tail decoration trailed behind, flopping crazily in the breeze. 493 526

Sometimes boys tried to see who could coast the greatest distance down the slope and into the valley. At other times, when the snow was well packed on the ground, they pushed their

[ca. 1880-1900] TRADING LAND FOR A LIVING

and about 70 acres on Cut Bank Creek, and planted oats, potatoes, and barley.¹⁵ The old Indian pattern of residence in bands began to give way to the rural white man's practice of individual family residence. The Indian families built their homes along the streams near water and timber. 241 261 177

A delegation of Piegan leaders traveled to Washington and asked the Great White Father to spend a goodly portion of their new annuities for cattle and large horses. In 1890 some one thousand heifers and twenty-five bulls were issued, and the Piegans got their start as cattlemen. Many of them who had shown no interest in farming found herding cattle enjoyable work. It wasn't unlike caring for horses. More cattle were distributed in subsequent years. By 1898 there were more than five hundred different brands on the reservation stock book. The Great Northern Railway, which was built across the center of the reservation in the early nineties, offered a ready outlet to market for the Indians' cattle. In 1895 they shipped \$30,000 worth of prime beef steers to Chicago. By 1896 the Indians were operating two hundred mowing machines to cut wild hay for winter cattle feed.¹⁶ 657 233 497 233 407

During the late eighties and early nineties large stallions were given owners of Indian ponies to breed with their small mares in order to obtain stronger farm animals capable of pulling a plow or a wagon. The fullbloods could not forget that their people used to measure a man's wealth in horses. They counted their colts sired by big Morgan stallions as they were born to their Indian pony mares. The little Indian pony was disappearing, but the Indians' horse herds were increasing rapidly. Some men specialized in horses of particular colors and bragged of their hundreds of whites, browns, or pintos. Owl Child, one of the most successful Piegan stockmen of this period, was very proud of his large horse herd. He owned nearly five hundred head of cattle, worth much more than his horses, but he never mentioned them in his bragging. 231 231 556

Five hundred wagons were issued to the Piegans in the early 493 ●

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1888, 151.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1896, 176-77.

THE BLACKFEET

[ca. 1880-1900]

• 499 nineties. They were light, thin-spoked vehicles, poorly suited to rough usage over rock-strewn plains and deeply rutted wagon trails. They seemed always to be breaking down. So Indian women clung to the old horse travois in preference to the new-fangled four-wheeled box which they called "something that rolls."

342
[178] During the late eighties and early nineties the Indian home rapidly evolved from the canvas-covered tipi to the small, round-log cabin with dirt floor and roof of pine poles covered with earth, to the hewn-log cabin, to the neat clapboard house with wood floor and shingled roof. By the late nineties the most prosperous Indian cattlemen were living in multiple-room frame houses, while poor families still occupied one-room dirt-floored cabins.

178
291 The everyday clothing of these Indians also changed during this period, particularly in men's wear. In the early eighties men had worn cloth shirts, breechclouts, and leggings. Even in 1887 the only men who wore coats and trousers were the Indian Police and some of the chiefs.¹⁷ During the nineties most of the younger men discarded their leggings and breechclouts in favor of what the Indian Service called "citizen's dress"—coat and trousers. But many Indians found white men's shoes stiff, confining, and uncomfortable. Consequently, the moccasin survived as a common article of adult Blackfoot footgear long after these people adopted white men's body clothing.

871 While Washington authorities had talked glibly during the eighties of education as the primary civilizing agent for Indians, the Piegans continued to suffer from lack of school facilities. As late as 1889 their agent was trying to squeeze ten boys and twenty-two girls into a schoolroom intended for only sixteen pupils. Yet the school-age population of the reservation numbered 350. Thus, less than 10 per cent of the children could receive the advantages of schooling on their own reservation.¹⁸ For several years some children had been sent across the Rockies

¹⁷ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 293.

¹⁸ Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, 223.

THE TRAVOIS AND TRANSPORT GEAR

- 493 In addition to their riding gear, described in the previous section, the Blackfoot Indians employed a variety of specialized horse gear for transporting their lodges and other possessions. This equipment was ingeniously adapted to the needs of a nomadic people.

THE HORSE TRAVOIS

- [177] Blackfoot tradition claims that their ancestors employed the A-shaped dog travois before they acquired horses. The horse travois, therefore, appears to have been an adaptation of the earlier dog travois to use with a larger and stronger animal. Some informants [176] claimed the Blackfoot originated the horse travois. This contention cannot be proved or disproved at this late date, but it is a possibility. 175 The earliest apparent reference to the use of the horse travois 493 refers to its employment by tribes of the northwestern Plains. On December 8, 1754, the fur trader Anthony Hendry noted that the men of his little trading party of Cree and Assiniboin were "employed making Sleds of Birch for the Women and Horses." Again on March 8, 1755, he stated "Men and Women repairing Snow Shoes and Sleds" (Hendry, 1907, pp. 343, 348). Although the devices drawn by the horses may actually have been sleds, it appears more probable that they were travois. I have found no later description of the Indian use of sleds with horses in this area. On the other hand, informants recalled that the Blackfoot used travois in winter in their youth. Certainly Maximilian's reference to "loaded dog sledges" seen among the Blackfoot in the summer of 1833, was a short description of the travois (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, pp. 104, 141). Apparently the French name "travois" did not come into general use among the Whites of the region until a later date. Earlier writers, at a loss for a short descriptive name, resorted to such misleading words as "sled" or "sledge."

The earliest illustration of a Blackfoot horse travois I have seen appears in Schon's 1855 sketch (pl. 4). Charles Wimar's painting, "Indians Approaching Fort Benton," executed 4 years later portrays a distant view of a number of loaded horse travois (Rathbone, 1946, pl. 20). Photographs of Blackfoot horse travois appeared in Grinnell (1895, opp. p. 156) and Wissler (1910, pl. 8).

HORSE TRAVOIS CONSTRUCTION

Wisler (1910, pp. 88-91, fig. 56) has described and figured the Blackfoot dog travois, made with ladder or net type loading platform. Informants claimed the ladder-type platform was preferred for both dog and horse travois by the Blackfoot. They considered the netted platform a Cree type. The dog and horse travois differed primarily in size, apex construction, and the hitch.

Among the Blackfoot the horse travois was made and owned by women. If a man had several wives, all worked together in making travois. Generally each family made its own. However, the wealthy husband of a woman who was not skilled at this work would get her one in trade. He might give a horse for a travois. Poorer people would pay no more than 4 robes. [403] [402] [422] [435]

The travois was made entirely of wood and rawhide. Figure 18 illustrates the construction, and the travois in place on the horse's back. The shafts (*a* and *a'*) were two stout poles of lodgepole pine. Generally they were obtained from the eastern slope of the Rockies or from the Bear Paw Mountains. They were generally about 4 to 5 inches in diameter at the base, a little larger than lodgepoles, although the Blackfoot referred to these shafts as "lodgepoles." Usually the shafts were made a little longer than necessary to allow for shortening through wear at the base. However, Weasel Tail said the travois would ride better if the distance forward of the tie (*b*) was relatively short. Shafts with long frontal projections (over 3 feet beyond the tie) had little spring. The tie (*b*) generally was made with a wet tendon from the back of the buffalo's neck wrapped with soft-tanned skin rope. The hitch was composed of a flat strip of rawhide (*c*) about 4 fingers wide. Each end of this strip was wrapped under and around one of the shafts, doubled back upon itself and sewn with rawhide cord. Through transverse slits in the center of this rawhide piece was passed a long rawhide line about 2 fingers wide (*d*). One end of this line was carefully and tightly wrapped around each shaft as far down as the bottom edge of the loading platform, where these lines were tied, leaving sufficient length of line to permit the ends to be used for tying the load on the platform. This rawhide line played an important role in the construction of the travois. Actually it carried the weight of the pull in transport and also kept the shafts from splitting. Three Calf pointed out that one could tell the maker's pride in craftsmanship by examining her pole wrapping line. If she had been careful to remove all the buffalo hair from the rawhide with a rock, if she had made the line in one continuous strip, and if she had cut it an even width throughout its length, she was a skilled craftsman. However, if she left bits of buffalo hair clinging to the surface, if she cut the line in uneven width, or if she had tied two or more lines to-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 105]

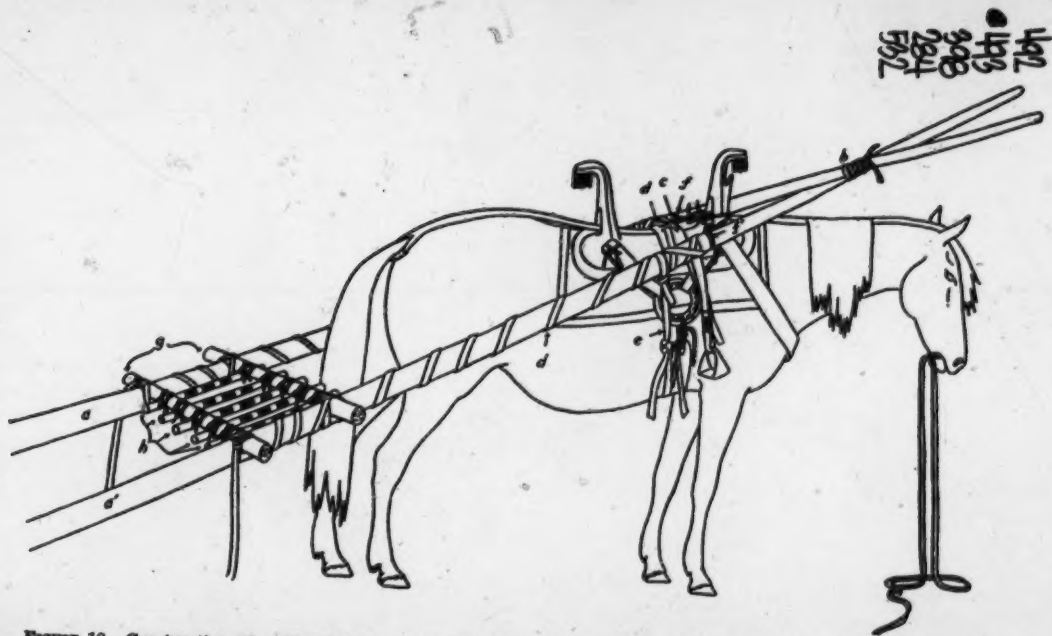


FIGURE 18.—Construction of a Blackfoot horse travois. a, a', Shafts; b, forward tie; c, rawhide hitch pad; d, rawhide hitch and pole wrapping line; e, girth strap; f, f', rawhide cord saddle ties; g, primary struts, loading platform; A, secondary struts, loading platform.

gether she was a lazy or incompetent worker. The Blackfoot referred to the hitch as "my load." In addition to the rawhide pad and pole wrapping line, the hitch included a cinch (*e*) of narrow rawhide rope tied to one shaft, passed under the horse's belly and tied to the shaft on the other side. This cinch was tight enough to hold the load but not too tight to be uncomfortable to the horse. Two rawhide cords (*f* and *f'*) were wrapped around the shafts, forward of the hitch and tied to the prongs of the saddle to complete the securing of the shafts. 493 298 283

The Blackfoot spoke of the loading platform as "my broad road." It was composed of 2 transverse primary struts made of lodgepole pine, spaced about 20 inches apart (*g*). These struts were notched near each end, fitted over the shafts, and lashed in place with rawhide line. Secondary struts (*h*) of birch or serviceberry were placed about 5 inches apart at right angles to the primary struts. They were lashed underneath the primary struts, by wet tendons from the neck of a buffalo. These secondary struts in many cases were made of pieces of wood in the bark, from which evenly spaced bands of bark were peeled for decorative purposes. The front end of the loading platform generally was less than 2 feet from the horse's tail when the travois was in place.

TRAVOIS ACCESSORIES

The basic travois described above weighed about 50 pounds. Sometimes a cage of bent willows was added to give protection to children, the aged, or puppies carried on the loading platform on hot, sunny days. These willows were arched and tied to the loading platform at the ends and sides. The willow framework was covered with buffalo robes to keep out the sun.

Either a "wood saddle" or "prairie chicken snare saddle" was used on the travois horse. A martingale and crupper were employed to hold the saddle in place. The former was a plain strip of rawhide 8 fingers wide, tied at each end to the pommel prongs. The crupper was also most commonly of plain rawhide, 3 fingers wide, with padded tailpiece. Its forward portion passed under the rear horn of the saddle and tied to the prongs of the front horn (fig. 18). 492

TRAVOIS ADJUSTMENT AND REPAIR

Generally a travois lasted about a year in service over rough ground. If conditions did not permit making a new travois the loading platform could be loosened and moved forward, or the worn butt ends could be lengthened by taking two shorter pieces of pine or cottonwood, notching each in two places and lashing them to the underside of the travois platform at the primary strut crossings. Each short piece thus served as an extension to one of the old shafts. A make- 493 398

493 shift travois could be constructed of cottonwood poles if no lodgpole
392 pine was handy. However, cottonwood generally was considered too easily split to make good travois shafts. It is noteworthy that the Blackfoot never developed any method of capping or binding the base ends of travois shafts to prevent wear and splintering.

CARE OF THE TRAVOIS IN CAMP

493 Horse travois, like dog travois, sometimes were piled together in conical piles, base ends down, to keep dogs from chewing at the leather parts. More commonly, each travois was propped at an angle, base end down, by a single long pole support, as illustrated by the [497] early photograph, plate 5, a. It could then be used as a stage for drying meat, or as a sun shelter covered with buffalo robes or skins, that could be turned with the daily movement of the sun. Beaver and medicine pipe bundle owners generally leaned their travois against the back of the lodge in order to hang their sacred bundles upon them during the day. The travois served women as a step-ladder in the erection and taking down of the lodge. A woman leaned it against the front of the lodge and climbed upon the loading platform to place or extract the topmost pins used to hold the lodge cover together.

SURVIVAL OF THE HORSE TRAVOIS

493 The Government began to issue wagons to the Montana Blackfoot prior to 1893. In that year Agent Steele reported the issuance
657 of 35 wagons, and added that about 300 were then in use by the Indians of that reservation (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1893, p. 172). In the following year Captain Cooke, the new agent, issued 150 wagons, believing that all heads of families were then provided with these vehicles. However, he stated that the wagons issued were not suitable for the service required of them (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1894, p. 160). My informants recalled that those early Government issue wagons were narrow gage, with thin spokes like a buggy and of rather weak construction. They would not stand the hard treatment the Indians gave them. The inadequacy of these
493 wagons, combined with poor roads, often muddy and deeply rutted, [177] encouraged the retention of the travois until the 20th century. Wissler (1910, pp. 88-91) mentioned travois use in the first decade of this century for hauling wood. Joseph Sherburne recalled that the Indians brought travois to Browning to haul food and supplies from the traders' stores until 1902 or 1904. Ceremonial use by the medicine woman in the Piegan Sun Dance survived until at least 1909 (personal communication from the late Walter McClintock). In recent years horse travois have been made for display in the Fourth of July parade at Browning and have occasionally been employed for hauling wood in rough country where wagons could not be used. Reuben and Cecile

Black Boy made a horse travois for the permanent collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian in 1942.⁶⁰ 493

THE LODGEPOLE HITCH

A specialized gear, which I shall term the lodgepole hitch, was employed by the Blackfoot for transporting lodgepoles in moving camp. 492
An equal number of poles was dragged at each side of the horse or

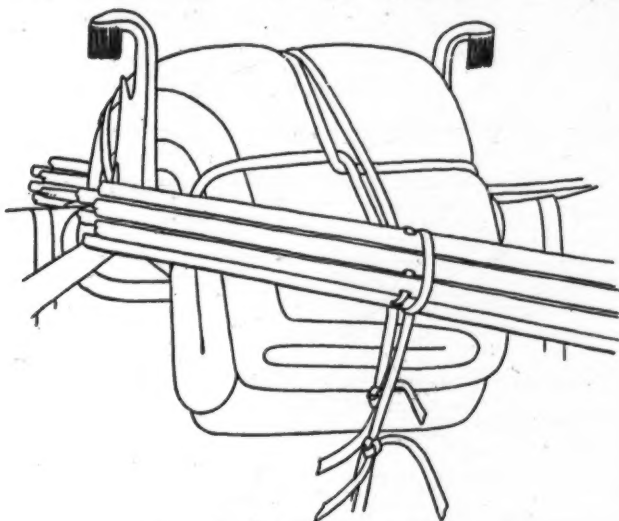


FIGURE 19.—The Blackfoot lodgepole hitch.

mule, the number varying with the size and weight of the poles employed in the owner's lodge and with the strength of the transport animal. A small hole about one-half inch in diameter was burned through each pole about 18 inches from its upper end with a hot iron rod. The poles to be dragged by each animal were laid on the ground in two piles. A rawhide line was then threaded through each group of poles. They were then lifted to the sides of the animal and the two rawhide lines were tied together over the center of the horse's back. In some instances the poles were further secured by a rawhide line connecting the two groups of poles and passing under the animal's belly (fig. 19). However, many women omitted this line, pre- 492

⁶⁰ The Blackfoot experience with Government issue wagons was paralleled on the Crow Reservation. Although they began to receive wagons as early as 1874, the Crow had little use for the light-weight, narrow-gage vehicles. They traded them to white men for more useful articles until the Indian Service forbade Whites to accept these ID-marked vehicles. Meanwhile the Crow continued to use "lodgepole transports" (Marquis, 1923, pp. 147, 150-157). Neach Smoky claimed the Kiowa made little use of wagons before ca. 1880. [71]

492 ferring to let the poles joggle with the movement of the horse as camp moved. Short Face said it was important that the holes bored in the poles should be of small diameter, as wear during transport enlarged them. If the owner made the holes too large the poles would crack at those points. At best, lodgepoles lasted but 1 year owing to wear of the butt ends trailed on the ground as well as the friction at the holes.

493 Poor people, who owned few horses and small lodges with short, light poles, sometimes tied their poles in two bundles to the loading platform of travois, one bundle at each side, secured by rawhide cords. An improvised travois was also easily constructed by tying two or more crosspieces, similar to the primary struts of the travois loading platform, to the bundles of poles dragged by a horse. These crosspieces were placed in the approximate position of the loading platform of the true travois. Buffalo robes and bedding generally were transported on this makeshift travois, but children, the aged, and miscellaneous camp equipment also could be carried upon it. Too heavy a load, however, would spring the poles and render them useless as foundation supports for lodge covers.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRAVOIS AND METHODS OF POLE TRANSPORT

171 It is well to consider these methods of transportation together in discussing the distribution of the travois, as the two have been confused in the literature, even in the writings of professional ethnologists. For example, Bushnell (1922, fig. 3, p. 66) reproduces an old woodcut portraying a Dakota horse dragging lodgepoles after the fashion described above for the Blackfoot. The caption under the illustration reads "Horse Travois."

In reality the true travois, which can be defined as an A-shaped drag, comprising two shafts, a loading platform which is an integral part of the whole structure, and a hitch for attachment of the travois to the horse, had a relatively limited use among many tribes of the Plains and Plateau. The improvised travois made by tying a temporary loading platform between dragging bundles of lodgepoles was more common. While the method of dragging lodgepoles in moving camp, erroneously labeled "travois" by Bushnell, was virtually universal among these tribes.

Undoubtedly all of the tribes of the Plains were familiar with the true travois. It seems to have been most widely used as a litter for transporting the sick and injured rather than as a means of carrying camp equipment. Blackfoot informants mentioned use of the travois in moving those handicapped persons. In the 1830's Ferris observed that the Flathead conveyed the wounded "on litters consisting of two lodgepoles fastened on either side of a packhorse with skins stretched

or cedar. The platform was composed of primary struts only laid transversely of the shafts and parallel to one another. The hitch was two rawhide cords. Each was passed through a hole burned in a shaft, similar to the holes burned in Blackfoot lodgepoles, and tied to the saddle pommel. [71]

Positive information on the occurrence of the true travois among other Plains tribes is lacking. The scattered data mentioned above, however, are sufficient to show clearly that this vehicle was not standardized throughout the area. Variants in shafts, hitch, and loading platform occurred. Even among related Dakota tribes several variants were present. The simplest construction involved the use of a few primary struts for a loading platform and a hitch achieved by tying the shafts to the prongs of the saddle pommel. The Blackfoot type gives the impression of being the strongest and most carefully planned travois. Its hitch and loading platform were relatively complex. Its use apparently was shared by the Sarsi. Curiously enough a photograph of a Gros Ventres horse travois, taken by Dan Dutro on Milk River in 1890 (in Montana Historical Society Library) resembles the Hidatsa type in its short shafts and netted hoop platform, although its pole wrappings suggest the use of the Blackfoot type hitch. In the light of the wider distribution of the simpler variants of the travois the Blackfoot type appears to have been a specialized one, presumably of later development. It is possible that the Blackfoot themselves may have used a simpler form of travois prior to the middle of the 19th century. [493]

The simplest form of true travois seems to have been only slightly more specialized as a transport vehicle than the improvised travois composed of a temporary platform tied between bundles of lodgepoles on which children and/or camp equipment were carried. Catlin's painting of a Teton Dakota camp on the move, executed in 1832, shows the improvised type in use (U. S. N. M. No. 386460). It also appears in his painting of a Comanche camp on the move, done 2 years later (U. S. N. M. No. 386447). Lieutenant Albert apparently saw the improvised travois with a "basket" fixed between the lodgepoles in use by an Apache camp seen near Fort Bent in the summer of 1845 (Albert, 1846, p. 10). In the next year Garrard observed Southern Cheyenne moving camp near Fort Bent. A "tray shaped basket or hoop, latticed with hide thongs" was tied between the two bundles of trailing lodgepoles for carrying children and household articles (Garrard, 1927, p. 52). Although Skinner (1926, p. 280) claimed the Iowa had the travois, his description of their vehicle as a means of moving "tipis bundled on their own poles" suggests that it was of the improvised variety. Wilson (1924, p. 197) described the use of the improvised travois among the Hidatsa and pointed out the danger of

171 springing the lodgepoles if too heavy loads were carried on them. These data indicate that the improvised travois probably had a wider distribution than the true travois, and that a number of tribes used both, just as the Blackfoot did.

[492] The dome-shaped, willow frame, sunshade placed on the platform of either the true or improvised travois had a wide distribution. It is shown in the illustrations of Cheyenne and Dakota travois previously mentioned. It was mentioned in Parker's description of the litter employed in transporting the Comanche chief. Maximilian, in 1833, saw these "semi-globular, transparent wickerpanniers" in use among the Yankton Dakota (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 22, p. 309). Stansbury saw this "Light wicker canopy" on Teton Dakota travois in 1849 (Stansbury, 1852, p. 46). Kiowa informants said women of their tribe made these frames of dogwood. Apparently this accessory was almost as widely used as was the improvised travois.

[493] The practice of dragging lodgepoles, divided into equal bundles suspended at the sides of a horse or mule, their butt ends dragging on the ground, appears to have been universal among tipi-using tribes of the Plains. My limited field data suggest that even the hitch was similar to that of the Blackfoot. Both Oglala and Kiowa informants stated that their tribes burned holes near the small ends of the poles, through which they were strung with rawhide lines. The Hidatsa used a red-hot iron about the size of a lead pencil to burn the holes about 2 feet from the ends of the poles (Wilson, 1924, pp. 193, 278-279, figs. 35, 105, 108).^a

PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF LUGGAGE CARRIED BY PACK ANIMALS

THE PARFLECHE

415 The parfleche was much used as a container for carrying possessions on packhorses. This folded envelope of tough, long-wearing, water-proof rawhide was capable of considerable expansion when packed. Its construction and decoration by the Blackfoot have been described in detail (Wissler, 1910, pp. 79-82; Ewers, 1945 b, pp. 16-18). Its general form and method of folding is shown in figure 20.

492 Although some parfleches were carried on the travois when camp was moved they were most commonly transported in matched pairs, one each side of a packhorse. Hence they were generally made in

^a A number of early illustrations have been published showing horses or mules dragging lodgepoles in this general manner. (See Bushnell, 1823, fig. 3, for Teton; Ross, 1861, pl. 66 for Pawnee, and pl. 128 for Shoshoni; and Whipple, 1856, p. 21, for Kiowa.) An old stereopticon view in the files of the Division of Ethnology, U. S. National Museum, depicts Omaha use of this method. The picture is corroborated by the description in Fletcher and La Flesche (1911, p. 275). Curtis (1906, vol. 4, p. 236) described this method of transport as used by the Cheyenne. Pierre Fichette said the Flathead moved their lodgepoles in this manner while on prolonged winter hunts east of the Rockies.

492 The travois also served the Blackfoot as a vehicle for transporting
493 the aged, too feeble to ride horseback, as well as the sick and wounded.²²
888

WEIGHTS AND LOADS

492 In 1908, H. W. Daly, chief packer, Office of the Quartermaster-
General, recommended a load of 250 pounds for an Army pack mule
weighing not less than 850 pounds, traveling 20 to 25 miles a day under
ordinary conditions or 10 to 15 miles a day over rough and moun-
tainous country (Daly, 1908, pp. 134, 136). I estimate that a fair load
for an Indian pony, weighing approximately 700 pounds, would have
been about 200 pounds under similar conditions.

[171] Boller (1868, p. 30), an experienced trader, said the Teton Dakota
carried "from 250 to 300 pounds" on the travois. Stanley (1855, p.
449) observed that the Piegan transported "often three hundred
pounds" on their travois. The limit for the travois load dragged by
the small Indian pony must have been about 300 pounds. I estimate
that the lodgepole-dragging horse could pull a load of poles weighing
a little more than that of the packhorse but less than that of the
travois load. The awkwardness of the load and the friction of the
many dragging poles combined to restrict the transport capacity of the
pole-dragging animal.

HORSE NEEDS FOR THE AVERAGE FAMILY

231 We are now in a position to estimate the number of horses required
by an average Blackfoot family in the mid-19th century. Our hypo-
thetical average family would number 2 grown males, 3 grown females,
and 3 children.²³

After discussing the horse needs for a family of this size with a half
dozen elderly informants (separately), I concluded that a family
"should have had" 12 horses, as follows: 1 horse to carry the lodge
cover and its accessories; 2 horses to drag the lodgepoles; 2 horses for
packing meat, miscellaneous foods, and equipment; 3 horses to carry
the women and infants (at least 2 of which would pull travois); 2
common riding horses for the men; and 2 trained buffalo runners for
the men. None of these horses would then have to pull or carry heavier
loads than those indicated above as fair loads for Indian ponies.
However, this estimate makes no allowance for additional horses to

[171] ²² Probably this was widespread Plains Indian practice. Prince Paul (in Butcher,
1942, p. 209) noted Teton Dakota use of the travois to transport "ancient squaws" a
century ago. Comparative data on travois use in carrying sick and wounded have been
cited (p. 108).

[127]
[162] ²³ I have derived these figures from Indian Agent Vaughan's estimate of an average of
8 persons to the lodge among the three Blackfoot tribes in 1860. His figures also estimated
that women somewhat outnumbered men, and children comprised roughly 40 percent of the
Blackfoot population at that time (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1860, p. 208).

Tools, utensils, and crafts media--Continued

- Fuel (dung).
- Fly brushes (tail on stick).
- Glue, used in arrow making (boiled phallus).
- Skin softening agents (brains, fat, and liver).
- Thread (sinew, occasionally rawhide).
- Pipe-polishing medium (fat).
- Paint-mixing medium (fat).
- Paint brushes (hip bone or shoulder blade).
- Quill flattener (horn).
- Tool for dehairing rope, (skull).

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Riding and transport gear:

- Frame-saddle covering (rawhide).
- Pad-saddle covering (soft skin).
- Pad-saddle stuffing (hair).
- Saddle-rigging straps (rawhide).
- Stirrup coverings (scrotum or rawhide).
- Martingales, simple form (rawhide).
- Cruppers, simple form (rawhide).
- Parfleches (rawhide).
- Rectangular saddlebags (rawhide).
- Cylindrical saddlebags (rawhide).
- Dougle-bags (rawhide).
- "Gros Ventres bags" (soft skin).
- Tobacco pouches (calfskin).
- Berry bags (unborn calfskin).
- Bridles (rawhide or hair).
- Honda ring (horn).
- Hackamores (rawhide).
- Lariats (rawhide).
- Picket ropes (rawhide).
- Hobbles (rawhide).
- Saddle blankets (skin or robe).
- Saddle housings (robe).
- Travois hitches (rawhide).
- Pole hitches (rawhide).
- Miscellaneous tie strings (rawhide).
- Horse blankets (robe, or top of old lodge).
- Horse-watering troughs (rawhide).
- Horseshoes (rawhide).

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Recreational equipment:

- Boys' sleds (rib runners, skin seat).
- Girls' sleds (large pieces rawhide).
- Ball stuffing (hair).
- Hoop and pole game hoop netting (rawhide).

Ceremonial and religious paraphernalia:

- Sun Dance altars (skull).
- Bindings for Sun Dance lodge rafters (strips of hide with hair).
- Rattles (hoofs and rawhide).
- Horse masks (skin and horn).
- Winding sheets for dead (skin or robe).
- Beaver bundle headdress (hide with hair).
- Matoki (Woman's Society) headdresses (hide with hair).

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9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 159 PLATE 5

942
● 499



a, Piegan lodges, showing methods of storing horse travois in camp. (Photograph taken prior to 1890. Courtesy Montana Historical Society.) b, Travois used as a litter, Crow Indians. (Photograph taken prior to 1900.)

Ep. 358-DJ

166
369 where their children or grandchildren are enrolled. An additional factor is a desire to overcome logistics problems such as the hardships of transportation, obtaining water and fuel for residences and access to service facilities. For instance, many elders lament the fact that they must leave their isolated homesites, where most of them were raised and to which they are so attached. Yet these elders, most of whom depend on welfare or lease incomes, can no longer manage a distant residence mainly because of logistics and lack of private vehicles.

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• (493) Thirty-two per cent of the rural inhabitants own no personal vehicles and elders are heavily represented among non-owners.

361 If this trend continues one can expect Browning and Heart Butte proper (in that order) to become more and more crowded and the outlying rural areas less populated. There are fewer and fewer enticements for living in the distant rural areas. In the past the lure of employment in Browning and off-reservation towns was not as strong as at present. Small ranching operations, although largely unprofitable, were sufficient to offer some hope and rewards, but these inducements have dropped out of the economic realm for the most part. Movements, especially among the young, are to locations where there is some promise of securing wage-earning jobs. But the trend is not nearly so marked as it is at Augusta because young Augustans can find a place in the larger society, feel at home in their new settings, can often attend college, find secure employment for the most part, and need not fear racial antagonism.

166
735 Despite the several motives given below for family relocation,

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Average Income (dollars)	Has Bank Acct.	Welfare Used	Owns Land	Uses Land	Owns Home	Lives With Relatives	Type of House	Cond. of House	Lawn or Garden	Owns Auto	Cond. of Auto
2	\$3,000	X			X		X	house	exc.	X	X	good
3	2,250			X			X	shack	poor		X	poor
5	1,500						X	house	fair		X	fair
6	3,000	X			has	X-		trailer	good		X	good
7	3,000				X		X	house	good		X	good
9	800		X	X			X	house	fair			
10	1,200		X	X		rents	w/him	shack	poor+			
11	1,500						X	shack	poor		X	poor
13	1,000			X		rents		house	good	X	wife	fair
14	200		X			X		shack	poor		X	fair
17	2,000					fan.		shack	poor		X	poor
18	1,500			X			X	shack	poor			
19	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	exc.	X	X	good
21	5,000	X		X	X	X		house	good		X	poor
25	3,000	X		X	X	X		house	fair		X	fair
26	600						X	cabin	fair			
27	75		X			X	w/him	shack	poor			
28	1,000		X				X	house	fair		X	fair
29	222						X	shack	poor		X	poor
30	5,000					rents		apt.	exc.	X		
31	1,600				X	fan.		house	good		X	fair
32	720		X	X		X		shack	poor			
34	2,500					X-		trailer	good		X	?
35	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	good	X	X	good
37	150		X				X	cabin	fair			
38	3,000			X		X		house	good	X	X	good
39							X	cabin	fair			
40	1,200			X		X	w/him	house	good		X	good
41	1,000				X			house	fair+		X	good
42	1,000						w. esp.	house	fair			
43	1,000			X		X		shack	poor			

[424]

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14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan
Montana

106 Lawns and Gardens records the low incidence of such yard care
121 among the sample. This lack needs investigation. The Indian reservation
177 towns and the off-reservation towns appear to differ noticeably in the
184 prevalence of lawns, gardens and trees. Each town has its range from
[351] unkempt to well-landscaped yards, but the reservation town appears to
have markedly more of the former and fewer of the latter. The
differences in yard care among the sample may be diagnostic.

● [493] Automobile Ownership and Condition are related to economics and
may, according to standards of maintenance, serve as indices of both
economics and acculturation.

106 Parents Spoke Blackfeet is the first in a series of information
121 that is directed toward an assessment of the subjects' linguistic
177 backgrounds. Blackfeet language is considered to be an important index
184 of continuity of and experience with the Blackfeet culture. The
191 information in this and following columns is, among other things, an
197 indication of the cultural environment of the home, an expression of
the potential for learning the language and other aspects of culture.
A score of "X" indicates that both parents could speak the Blackfeet
language, "1" means that one parent knew it and where neither parent
did the space is left blank.

Predominant Language in Childhood Home presents data that
explore further this same area of experience. Both parents may have
spoken Blackfeet but either did or did not use this language pre-
dominantly in the home. This added information should give some clues
about the relative intensity of exposure to the language and to other
elements of culture. A classification of "Blackfeet" in this column

128 aspects, but is included here as it concerns an item of property. An

106 automobile is a major investment; its possession represents, at least,

• [493] a past or projected earning capacity sufficient for ownership.

[454] Automobile ownership and condition are scaled:

Subject owns no automobile	0 points
Subject owns an automobile, poor condition . .	1 points
Subject owns an automobile, fair condition . .	2 points
Subject owns an automobile, good condition . .	3 points

Partial support from family adds information that tends to

decrease the economic ranking of subjects who are more dependent upon

others for subsistence needs. Family support in the form of housing

has already been considered, so was not included in this measurement.

Two men, each reporting the same annual income figure, are not

economically equal if one must support himself and his family entirely

from this income, while the other derives considerable subsistence

support from others. Car and home ownership rankings are also

qualified by use of this family support information. The man who

receives partial support from his family may be able to invest in a

house or automobile while the independent man might not. Similarly,

the man who can own these things and remain self-supporting demonstrates

the greater economic achievement. These differences are recognized and

weighted for by this additional information. These are in part new

[434] data, present only by inference in Table 1. Partial support is ranked:

[592]

Considerable parental support	0 points
Some support from parents or siblings	1 points
Little or no support from parents but partial support from wife	2 points
Complete economic independence	3 points

Welfare aid adds another qualifier of the income figures. It

depresses those among the low income group who find it necessary to

TABLE 4
ECONOMIC SCORES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE
PROBABILITY SAMPLE AND THEIR ECONOMIC INDICES

	Casc No.	Type of Work	Income	Uses Land	Home Owner- ship	Type and Condition	Auto and Condition	Part Family Support	Uses Welfare	Total
129										
106										
464										
434	2	4	2	2		4	3	1	1	17
423	3	1	2	1		1	1	2	1	8
427	5	2	1			2	2	1	1	9
342	6	1	2		2	2	3	3	1	14
356	7	4	2	2		3	3	1	1	16
493	9			1		2		1		4
592	10		1	1	2	1		1		6
657	11	1	1		1		1	2	1	7
177	13			1	2	3	2	2	1	11
511	14				3		2	1		6
	17	2	1		1		1	2	1	8
	18		1	1				3	1	6
	19	5	5	3	3	4	3	3	1	27
	21	5	4	3	3	3	1	3	1	23
	25	5	2	3	4	2	2	3	1	22
	26					1			1	2
	27				3			2		3
	28		1			2		3		8
	29						1	3	1	5
	30	5	4		2	4		3	1	19
	31	4	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	15
	32			1	3			2		6
	34	2	2		2	2	2	1	1	12
	35	5	5	3	4	3	3	3	1	27
	37					1		1		2
	38	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	1	19
	39					1			1	2
	42	2	1	1	3		3	3	1	16
	45	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	21
	46	2	2	1	1	2		3	1	12
	47			1	3			3		7

II4

TRIBE UNDER TRUST

511 their houses looking neat is also seen from the efforts on the part
352 of some families to plant shrubbery, to lay a concrete walk from the
[356] road to the door-step, to keep the grass short in the front yard, to
[351] hang lace curtains in the windows, to give white visitors the cup
and saucer with the flower design, and to arrange the furnishings
of the living room beforehand. From this we infer a need for better
furnishing, particularly on the part of the poorer families.

511 Other indications of a higher standard of living might be plumb-
312 ing, improved sanitation, electricity, and the various machines of
365 the modern house. We have never heard anyone speak of the desire
for running water in a house, though one of the three houses with
electricity has piped water into the house from an electrically driven
pump. At the mines, where running water is available in the com-
munity wash-house, the Indians use these facilities constantly for
[515] washing and laundering. Indeed, it is said that the Indians at the
mines maintain the highest standard of cleanliness on the reserve.

[514] The only available source of running water other than the mine is
the hospital, which provides the sole bathing facilities. When there
is no running water available, inside toilets and cesspools are incon-
ceivable. Some Indians living near a power line have considered
511 introducing electricity into their homes. As the public utility com-
365 pany charges the expense of a transformer installation to the con-
sumer, and wiring and fixtures are a further expense, most Blackfoot
have rejected the idea after the initial inquiry.

511 Most of these attributes of a higher standard of living are con-
171 sidered not very important by the Blackfoot, but one must not reach
conclusions on this basis alone. Through the countryside of southern
Alberta, many white farmers also are without running water and
electricity. In small towns there is frequently no sewage system,
and outside toilets are assumed. Moreover, most of these accessories
require some source of power. If whites are unable to afford these
conveniences, still less could the Indians on their income.

493 Some Indians have purchased automobiles, though they soon
discover that maintenance is a very costly affair. Frequently this
has induced them to abandon the car. On the other hand the condi-
tion of the roads, the love of horses and the greater utility of the
latter in rough country and cold winters, the greater carrying capa-
city of a wagon over a passenger car, all make team and wagon much
more serviceable on the reserve.

575
782
● 493
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Fig. 12 — Holy offering of the Horn Society of the Blood Indians, note sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) on the cross piece. Photo courtesy of J. Dawson.

BLACKFOOT BUFFALO HUNTERS OF THE PLAINS 65

342 were few compared with those of a sedentary people, the tipi
442 with its contents formed a large load. The advent of the horse
484 made possible a considerable increase in the weight of the
household property that could be transported and tipis became
larger and more luxurious. But even in pre-horse days the
Indians of the Plains had devised means for transporting a
considerable quantity of material. Although heavy burdens
482 were carried on the back, a great deal was transported by the
492 dogs, of which every woman kept two or three or more. Small
493 burdens could be carried in bags slung across their backs, but
484 they could drag a much greater weight than they could carry,
and for this purpose the Plains peoples used a drag-frame
known as the *travois*—two splayed poles two or three yards

[492]

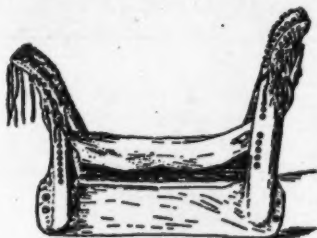


FIG. 22. A BLACKFOOT SADDLE
LENGTH, 34 CM.
(After Wissler)

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[482]

long lashed together—which was harnessed on the shoulders
of the dog, and carried a netted hoop or platform of slats
attached to the two poles behind the animal. When the horse
was introduced the same device was enlarged to carry much
heavier loads. This drag-frame was well suited to the relatively
smooth and open country in which the Plains people lived.
They had no sleds or toboggans, and the travois appears to be
an indigenous development which remained limited to their
own culture area. It is probable that it originated with the
poles of the tipi itself, and it was frequently improvised from
tipi poles in later days, but the Blackfoot also made well-
finished travois which could not be taken apart for use as poles.

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[177]

With the introduction of the horse, saddles and trappings
were made. The heavier wooden saddles used mostly by
women followed closely the design of Spanish saddles, of which
they were translations into wood and rawhide, the wooden
frame being held rigid by a cover of rawhide, which was shrunk
on to it. For the chase men used light
pad saddles of soft hide stuffed with hair.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

hunting and camping sites. The bands camped together only during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. But in 1892, although the people still lived with their own bands, they were not separated by such great distances as before. Each band had a traditional place where its members put up their tipis and tents. Their place was left unoccupied whether the members of the band arrived late or not at all.

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[796]
[361]

The Bloods were made up of ten or twelve bands at any one time. The number of bands varied because people were free to leave a band if they disagreed with its chief or if they preferred to follow the chief of another band. Some of the larger bands had more than one chief.

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619

Let me tell you the names of some of the bands that existed around the turn of the century and the names of some band chiefs. The Lone Fighters were led jointly by One Spot and Heavy Shield, and later solely by Running Wolf. The Fish Eaters were led by Crop-Eared Wolf, and later by Many White Horses. This was the band of Blood's tribal head chief, Red Crow, and his family. The Bite-Throats were led by Low Horn. The Followers of Buffalo were led by Bull Horn; the Black Elks, by Bull Shield; the Many Children, by Young Pine; the Skinny People, by Running Antelope; and the Many Tumors, by Strangling Wolf.

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Many of the People still used travois to haul their belongings to the 1892 camp. Others came in wagons, while a few in their slim-wheeled buggies challenged the rocks and holes lining the pathways to camp. The travois consisted of two tipi poles tied together near the end attached to the horse, with the untied ends spread apart to drag on the ground behind the horse. Padding was placed where the poles crossed, for they rested on the horse's shoulders. Crosspieces, tied to the poles near where they dragged, provided a frame on which the family could tie their belongings. Small items were rolled between tipi covers and fur robes, while larger bags were either tied to

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[p. 22-B]

the outside of the main bundle or slung over the horse's back. Sacred Bundles were carried only on a special horse and travois. Usually no one but the Bundle's Owner could ride such a horse. Nor was that horse used to carry meat. This was to keep the Spirit of the animal pure and clean for its holy duties.

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[778]
[784]

The seven vowing Okan women and their families were among the first to arrive at the camp circle. They pitched their tipis closer to the center of the circle than the others. Cottonwood boughs were piled up outside against the base of their tipis. In this way, people would know that these tipis were sitting holy and should not be disturbed. The green leaves hiding the bottoms of the tipis of these holy women served as spiritual guards for those who were within. Children were taught not to play nearby, lest they disturb the holy thoughts inside.

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[361]
[824]

Dried tongue is the meal of communion during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred tongues must be dried and prepared beforehand in the spring so that everyone in the camp can share in this communion. The tongues, symbols of the natural foods of the buffalo as well as the main foods of our People, represent the Spirits of buffalo.

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[776]

Traditionally, buffalo tongues were brought to the vowing holy woman by generous hunters. With the help of her family, she dried and stored them in preparation for the holy ceremony. But by 1892, beef had replaced buffalo in the diets of our People, so beef tongues were used instead. (The last buffalo killed by our People—around the year

[793]
[178]
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24A]

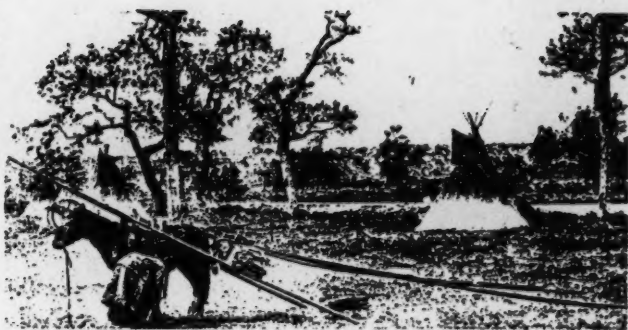
21: Hungry Wolf

F-4,5

(ca. 1972) 1977

NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Blood

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A travois at a Blood camp along the Belly River in 1857. The woman's tipi cover is packed on her travois, and her lodge poles are fastened to the top of the cover. (Boorne & May)

[P.23-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
 Blood



853
 291
 302
 142

Grandma AnadaAki in 1939. She is feeding Siksika's brother, Gilbert, or Black Eyes. The old lady was Grandma's stepmother, one of old Heavy Head's wives. (Esther Goldfrank)



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Joe Beebe on his democrat while in Cardston in 1939. Behind him is John Red Crane, the man who sold the Long-Time Pipe. Joe Beebe, an invalid by this time, had hired John as driver. The old lady is John Red Crane's mother. (Esther Goldfrank)

[P. 59-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Skinned elk heads or leg hides were sewn together as berry bags. The long, smooth elk ribs made excellent runners for children's sleds. An elk's canine teeth, easy to remove because they do not grow into the jawbone, were highly valued decorations for women's dresses, men's vests, and necklaces. They are still valuable today.

A delicacy among our People was elk's rectum. Unlike many other animals, the elk has a very clean rectum. Before cooking, it was washed and stuffed with serviceberries and fat. Then the top ashes in the fireplace were scraped away and the stuffed rectum placed over the bottom layer of coals. When the top ashes were replaced, a small fire was built over the ashes. The man of the household would invite distinguished guests to share the delicacy with him. The end was cut off and given to the dogs; the rest was sliced up into small pieces for the People. This greasy, sweet, and spicy delicacy was considered "a meal for a chief."

MOOSE: *Sixtsi-sou*. The first part of the name refers to the animal's basic black color; the second part connotes "coming through," referring to the moose's characteristic charge, even through brush and trees, when disturbed or angry. Our Old People did not often venture into country where moose were found.

Moose nose was another culinary delicacy. In addition, large moose antlers were used to make bowls, and emergency moccasins could be fashioned from the peeled-off skin of moose hocks.

MULE DEER: *Is-sikotuye*, or "black-tipped tail."

WHITE-TAILED DEER: *Auwah-tuye*, or "waving the tail from side to side." This ancient name originally meant something like "waving their tails like dogs."

CARIBOO: *Omach-tsistsini*, or "big hoof." It

rodeo but he will never be given the prize money."

One day a priest came to our place. He told my father, "Your son is a big boy now. He should go to school." My father told the priest, "I love my son. He is not going to school. If I put my son in school, the white men will teach him bad habits. They will teach him to drink whiskey and to steal and to cheat a person and how to gossip about people." The priest told my father, "In the future, people will all talk English and your son will be the only one that will not speak English." My father told the priest, "Our Indian life is not going to be extinct just yet. I am still standing on my Indian life, so my son will not be educated in the school." So that is why I didn't go to school.

I was a farmer. I had all the farm implements—a seeder, a plow, a binder, a cultivator, and a harrow. I didn't borrow these things because I knew the People didn't like me and wouldn't lend me anything. I bought what I needed. I had seven big wagons, two democrats [light wagons with seats], and a lot of workhorses.

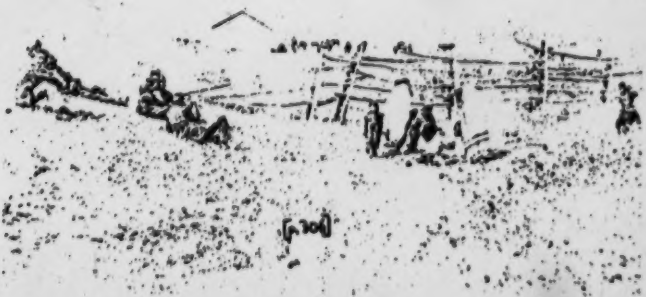
Then a bad habit came to me. I started drinking. My life was lonely. I stole a lot of things. I broke into a store and I stole tobacco and forty bottles of lemon extract [a popular and cheap substitute for liquor]. I stole and sold more than five hundred horses. I stole horses from the Blackfoot Reserve, from the North Piegan Reserve, and from the Blood Indians. The horses I didn't sell I slaughtered, and sold their skins. I would slip a rope around the horse's neck, then put a half-hitch around the nose over the nostrils and finally wrap the end of the same rope around the horse's hind legs. As the horse kicked, the rope tightened around its nose, and it suffocated itself. A suffocated horse stiffens up quickly. I skinned the horse and sold the hide for money to spend on liquor.

I sold stolen cattle and wheat. Stealing wheat, that was easy. I simply backed my wagon up to

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Bloods and Piigun visitors at the Blood Ration House in 1881. In the foreground is the Negro interpreter, Dave Mills. Next to him is Running Rabbit. Center row, from left to right: Bull Buckist; Old Eagle Bill; the agent; Four Horse, a South Piigun; and Jack Miller, or Three Bulls, a half-breed from the South Piigun. Back row: Two agency employees; Eagle Head; an unknown man; another employee; Last Gun—nephew of Running Wolf and stepson of the South Piigun head chief, White Bull; then Blind Bull; and finally, Blackfoot Old Woman, or Ermine Horse, who was then a minor chief. (Glenbow Archives)

657 Old agency at the north end of the reserve, along the Belly River. This is where the People used to come to get their
417
[527] supplies, their treaty money, and their bad news about the latest in government plans and restrictions to their life. Tipi
[493] dances, and horse races were a regular part of treaty payment days. Few of the men came to the old agency during
Archives—the women brought their family's ration needs and loaded the supplies on travois or in wagons. (Glenbow
Archives)



21: Hungry Wolf

F-4,5

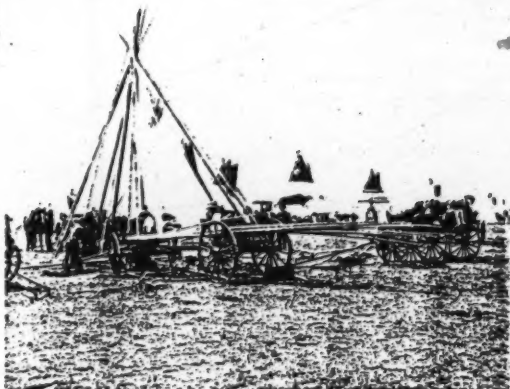
(ca. 1972) 1977

NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Setting up this circle camp at Lethbridge in 1912. The Blood Buffalo Painted Lodge is at the center.

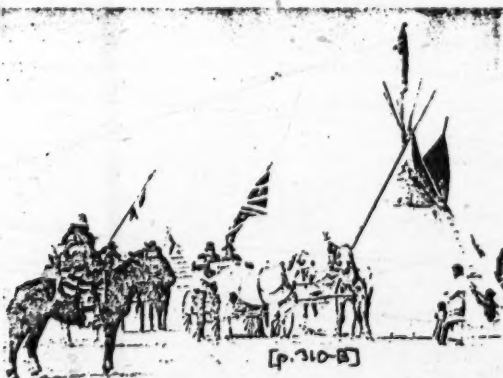
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778

[425]

Yellow-Painted Lodge of the head chief, in the center of the camp. An Otter Flag tops the tipi, although this was not an Otter Tipi; flags could be transferred without the tipis. Seated in the carriage are the two head chiefs of that time: Ermine Horse, or Blackfoot Old Woman; and Crop-Eared Wolf.



[p. 310-B]

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[237] Three old women at Fort MacLeod in 1924. On the left is Double Victory Woman, mother of John Cotton. She holds a staff with hoops and bells attached. In her other hand is a horsetail switch. The woman in the center is Henry Face, mother of Jim White Bull. She holds a stone hammer for pounding berries and dried meat. On the right is Taken-a-bean, who was then the widow of White Wolf. On her dog's travels is a hide scraper made of bone and a small bottle of the kind that was obtained from traders. Black Locking is the man on the horse. (Clenbow Archives)

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PORTRAITS OF PEOPLE FROM THE PAST



Mean Bandolier, or "Minnie," as Wilson called his adopted brother. (R. N. Wilson)

21: Hungry Wolf

F-4,5

(ca. 1972) 1977

NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Members of the Hurns Society heading out of camp for the Center Pole. Driving the lead wagon is Head Chief Shot-on-Both-Sides. On the back of the wagon sits Tom Morning Owl.

Bringing back the Center Pole with a modern rubber-tired wagon in the late 1940s. Four members of the Hurns Society are sitting on the Pole, drumming and singing.



21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Today, Yellow Horse Rider lives with his family in a modern home on the same land his father owned, at the south end of the Belly Buttes near the Belly River. Except for singing at summertime powwows and at an occasional Medicine Pipe ceremony, he is very shy and quiet. So many sacred things have been transferred to him that he can sing the required sixteen songs at our Nighttime ceremonies. But he says he does not like to attend unless the sponsor of the ceremony specifically asks him to. This is a traditional custom. 156

Yellow Horse Rider has said, "I live the Indian Way. That is the Way in which I was raised and it is the only Way I know how to live. I only do those things that I am meant to do, and I try very hard to do them right. I have a lot of children. If I don't treat my Indian Ways right, it might hurt them." 829 [784]

JOE YOUNG PINE

About ten years after the last real war party, one of old Young Pine's two wives gave birth to a son, whose name became Joe Young Pine. He is known today as Dog-With-a-White-Spot, one of his father's names. He is most often seen around the reserve while traveling in the ditches next to the roads. That is because he is one of the last to use a team and wagon. Here is what he says about that simple method of travel: 156 [551]

Very few people on this reserve had an automobile when I first got one. I was still young, then. Now that most everybody has at least one auto or truck, I'm back to using my team and wagon. I like it real well. I'm never in a hurry and I always have time to stop and visit with whoever I want to. I don't just go by in a cloud of dust. Of course, I like it because it's cheap, too. I never have to worry about gas money or oil changes or stuff like that. When there's any drinking going on around the house I don't have to 829 493 ● [273] [164]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
 Blood



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Joe Young Pine, around 1915. He cut his braids shortly before going to Australia. To his right stands Ernest Brave Rock, brother of Mrs. Wadsworth. Seated before them is the wife of Joe's older brother, Black Sleeps. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

worry about somebody taking off in my car and wrecking it. That used to happen a lot.

I used to race chuckwagons at all the rodeos and stampedes. In 1939 I was one of the fellows that was sent to Australia from this reserve. We

[p. 339-A]

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Mr. and Mrs. Willie Wadsworth and family during a Sunday outing with some of their children.

584 by the name of Bull Head. He had two wives.
574 One of them was named Shaggy. They both
jumped out and took me down. I must have
looked funny. A woman by the name of Annie
started to laugh at me. She was John Cotton's
[292] wife. I must have looked really funny. It was in
the winter and I had on my buckskin dress, and
my shawl was a small fancy blanket.

585 They fed us and then we started off again, on
and on. Finally I couldn't see my homeland,
which was beyond the ration house. We came to
[342] a place that is called Willows-in-the-Water. As we
came into the open, there was a house with a
sod roof. We went in and they took my belong-
[352] ings. At one side there was a wooden bed, an old
bed of the past, carved fancy. It was the bed of
the one that I was going to marry!

My blankets were all brought in. The boy
had a sister. I asked her, "Have you got any toys?"
[431] She brought out a small rawhide container full
with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

*saw in my dream. Here is a part of him to prove
that we are sincere and that he will always re-
member you." That old woman took out her
knife and cut off the end of my little finger from
my left hand, you can see where it is missing, and
she left the end of my finger out there on the
prairie as an offering. That is when I was first told
that I would have old age.*

After the Old Man's story, we sat quietly for
a while. Then Atsitsina remarked that he had not
yet been purified for the recent death in his fam-
ily. He could not attend a holy ceremony until he
symbolically cast the Spirit of death away from
himself. He asked me to step outside with him
and to bring along a few leaves of sage from the
bunches by the altar. He had already taught me
what to do to purify someone in our Old Way. I
rolled the sage leaves into a small ball between my
palms and prayed, asking for help that Atsitsina
may forget what has happened and go on with
the Good Spirits again. Four times I prayed and
asked the various Powers to give him strength and
encouragement, and then I handed him the ball
of sage. He prayed and brushed his body four
times with it, then told the sage to take the evil
from his body as he cast it away toward the east,
the direction of the new day.

A truck arrived bringing SikskiAki's parents
and our two boys. Wolf Child quietly walked into
the room and sat by me. The Old Man squinted
to see who it was, then greeted Wolf Child:
"Ahhh, Makwi Poka, shake hands!" The Old
Man was very fond of Wolf Child. The boy
prayed enthusiastically and made hand signs while
trying to sing along with our holy songs.

NinnaOnesta and his wife arrived with a box
full of bowls, utensils, pipe and blankets, and two
cushions—in case our seating proved uncomfort-
able. The Old Man gave NinnaOnesta a seat on
the far left, where he usually sits to call out his
raiding exploits.

[p. 353-A]

1918.]

Wissler, Blackfoot Sun Dance.

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teeth. A new travois must be provided for moving the medicine woman outfit. Sometimes she herself rides on it. This travois is made by the past medicine woman, her attendant in the ceremonies.

As previously stated, the natoas ritual in the sun dance has for its mythical basis the Elk-woman and the Woman-who-married-a-star, though Scar-face, Cuts-wood, Otter-woman, and Scabby-round-robe are said to have made minor contributions. Versions of these myths may be consulted in Volume 2, part 1 of this series. The Woman-who-married-a-star is credited with bringing down the digging-stick and the turnip, together with the songs pertaining thereto (p. 61), also a wreath of juniper formerly worn in place of the natoas and the eagle feather worn by the man.

It is also interesting to note that the Crane-woman who transfers the ritualistic attributes of these objects makes a formal declaration of her marital virtue. In the case of Elk-woman, we have again the incident of the Crane and the digging-stick where it is implied that the latter symbolizes the bill of the former. We are informed that many animals were present at this transfer, each contributing something to the regalia. We also find it suggested that the bunches of feathers on the natoas represent the horns of the elk, the elk robe and elk teeth wristlets further symbolizing that animal. In one version of this myth is the antagonistic implication that Elk-woman was not quite up to the standard of marital virtue. In the Cuts-wood myth the "going forward to the tongues" is accounted for. Scabby-round-robe is credited with adding the necklace and the arrow point to the natoas and Otter-woman with the wild cat-tail.

The following statement of an informant has a bearing upon this point:—

The natoas is said to have come from the Elk. It was first owned by beaver bundle men, but it was the custom for the medicine woman in the sun dance to borrow it for her ceremony. This continued for a time, but ultimately the medicine woman bought it and kept it in a bundle of her own. The feathers on the front of the natoas are said to represent the horns of Elk and the plumes at the sides, the leafy top of the large turnip. This is the same turnip which the woman who went to the sky land is supposed to have dug up. The digging-stick which accompanies the natoas also represents the stick with which she did this digging. Some of the songs in the natoas ritual speak of little children running about and this refers to the ball-like image on the front of the natoas, for this image is stuffed with tobacco seeds, which, as you know, are often spoken of as children, or dwarfs (p. 201). The broad band upon which the natoas is mounted is said to represent the lizard. All these things, it is said, were added to the natoas, one at a time, by some of the beaver men. So it came about that we have the natoas as it is.

Now, as to the story about the Elk giving the Natoas the robe and the wristlets used with it. The objection is sometimes made that this first woman who ran away from her husband to join the Elk was not a true woman and that the facts are therefore inconsistent with the ideal of the natoas ritual. Yet, some of our people claim

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prohibited. Pipes can only be lighted from the fire by this attendant with service berry sticks. A blaze must be avoided as much as possible. The attendant cuts the tobacco and fills the pipe and when burnt out he must empty the ashes into a small hole in the ground near his seat. Everyone is expected to sit quietly, leaving the moving to him. He remains on duty during the night also.

Formerly, the tipi of the medicine woman was moved three times, four different camps resulting, the last being at its position in the circle for the sun dance. As a considerable journey was often necessary to reach the sun dance site these camps might be far apart. Theoretically, the camp is pitched late in the afternoon of each day. At the sun dance a special sweat-house ceremony takes place. This will be discussed later. After this the evening and greater part of the night are spent by those in attendance at the medicine woman's tipi in rehearsing the songs and instructing the son and daughter.

Like everything else, moving the camp of the medicine woman is a formal matter. The travois is made, painted red, and reserved for the special use of the medicine woman. When the time for breaking camp in the medicine woman's band arrives, she and her husband are led out and seated upon a robe at the west or rear of their tipi, facing in the direction to move. The parfleche of tongues and other paraphernalia are brought out by the attending women and put down beside the couple. The mother directs the attending women in taking down the tipi and hitching the horse to the travois. The parfleche of tongues is packed on the travois. When all is ready, the woman and man are led to their horses and assisted to mount, the woman riding the horse to the travois. The father and the son go ahead in single file, next the mother and the daughter, or medicine woman. They pause four times, as songs are sung. After they get some distance out, they stop and wait for the camp, now moving for the first time. This procession of four always leads, the two men side by side and behind them the two women likewise. At noon, when they stop for lunch, the two are again seated on a robe, the travois unhooked and laid down before them. Then follows the camp some distance behind. The old men form a circle and smoke near the pair.

At this time the father orders one of the men's societies to go forward and mark out a camp site. When this spot is reached, tipis are pitched and when everything is in place the medicine woman and her husband are taken inside.

On the morning of each day a society is given instructions to make the sweat-house at the camping place, a man to get the creeping juniper and another to cut out the smudge place. As the sweat-house procedure is a distinct ceremony, it will be treated under another head.

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[554]

this service. In any event, they go out as a war party and locate a suitable tree. A man with a war record, preferably one having struck an enemy with an ax, comes forward, takes an ax, paints the blade as he recounts some event in which he killed an enemy, and then strikes the tree. Four such deeds must be told before the tree can be felled. Then one or two men cut the tree as the others stand around. As the tree begins to fall all give the war cry and shoot at its top, then rush up, and tearing off branches, wave them in the air as if they were trophies from an enemy. Indeed, the whole proceeding, from start to finish, is a mimic attack on an enemy.

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[178]

The pole is cut to approximate form and taken to the site of the dancing lodge. One end is placed on a travois (in recent times on a wagon), while the riders assist with their ropes, their horses massed around the travois horse.

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The hole for the sun pole is dug without ceremony by relatives of the medicine woman. When it is in place, they tie a bundle of green boughs in the fork, making everything ready for the raising in the evening. The sun pole now lies on the ground with the butt over the hole and the forked end supported by a piece of timber. The fork points to the west. It seems that formerly the pole was painted. Just below the fork it was

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CUTTING THE THONGS.

[237]

A fresh cowskin (formerly two buffalo hides) is provided that thongs may be cut for binding the rafters to the stringers and the objects placed on the sun pole. There seems to have been no hunting ceremony for providing this hide and there is now no symbolic hunting. After the medicine woman is in the shelter, the ceremony of cutting the thongs takes place. If no one volunteers, men are "caught." The men who cut the thongs last year may do the "catching" or engage representatives to do it. Formerly, this function was exercised by old warriors who had captured enemies alive. The "catchers" go quietly about the camp looking for eligibles. While pretending to pass one by without notice, they suddenly lay hold of him. The victim may pull back, but is not allowed to resort to other means

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* The bundle of boughs is neither spoken of as the thunderbird's nest nor given a name of any kind: though some old men seemed to know that other tribes so designated it. We made diligent inquiry on this point and feel that the above statement is correct. Reference to published photographs will show that the brush is merely gathered into a bundle and not made into the form of a nest as in case of the Crow.

BLACKFEET AND BUFFALO

000 And after a little: "How terribly handicapped we soldiers are in this kind of work. Conspicuously clothed and mounted, we ride about in close formation for these war parties to see us from afar, and so avoid us. Small chance that we can ever meet up with one of them, red-handed from an attack upon a freighting outfit. How I would like to go after them with a party of men of your experience. I am sure that with some of your hunting and trapping friends you would soon make this road safe for the travel on it."

"Yes, maybe we could," Kipp modestly replied.

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000 We had not many horses, only a four-horse wagon team, a dozen saddle horses, including two fast, well-trained buffalo horses, one of them mine. For transporting our buffalo robes, furs, hides, and trade goods we had a large bull train, three teams of eight yokes of bulls (steers), and two wagons each. Long John Forge was our wagon boss; and Kipp's brothers-in-law, Takes-Gun-at-Night, Red Eyes, and Comes-with-Rattles, our bullwhackers. All three were young Pikuni men of not more than twenty years. At this time the train was not in use, the bulls grazing at will in the next river bottom below the fort. The horses were kept in the corral at night, and at sunrise were turned out to graze.

As Lieutenant Beacom and his men had to use their saddle horses daily, they were turned out with the pack mules to graze of nights, with chain and leather hobbles, and herded by two shifts of men, the first one until midnight, the other one until daybreak, when they were unhobbled and driven in to camp.

Came a rainy, winter night and, early in the morning, someone pounded on the door of our office, in which I slept. I sprang out of bed and let him in, Lieutenant Beacom, all out of breath and dripping wet. He sank down in a chair before the fireless stove and gasped:

"I must see Kipp. Show me where he sleeps. Better still, will you please awaken him and ask him to come in here?"

I dressed, threw a slicker over my shoulders, ran across the court and into Kipp's quarters, found him up and building a fire in the cookstove.

DISEASES

164 The more prevalent diseases prior to contact with the white race were rheumatism, neuralgia, paralysis, epidemic influenza, and occasionally pulmonary consumption, liver complaint, gravel and wens. Contagious diseases of every description were unknown among them until introduced by the whites. Those of a venereal character, which from the easy virtue of the nation have become alarmingly prevalent and occasioned an appreciable physical degeneracy in all the tribes, were first introduced by the Gros Ventres, who became infected with them in some of their visits to the Arapahoes upon the borders of the Spanish settlements.

MEDICAL TREATMENT

757 For the treatment of disease, the Blackfeet employed
756 a few indigenous herbs and roots, but the main dependence
[753] was placed upon the vapor bath and the conjuring tricks of the medicine men. Their theory of most diseases was that an evil spirit had entered into the body of the sufferer and that a cure could only be effected by its expulsion. For this purpose the charms of the medicine men were believed to have peculiar potency, which procured their almost invariable employment. In the treatment of wounds a poultice of certain chewed roots was applied sometimes, but the famed, all-powerful "Indian doctor" was as much a myth with the Blackfeet as among other tribes, and recoveries are to be ascribed almost altogether to the recuperative powers of the patient himself and not to the curative properties of a limited array of inefficacious remedies.

BEASTS OF BURDEN

492 Before the introduction of the horse the dog was the
231 only beast of burden employed by the Blackfeet. The species in use was very similar in appearance to the large gray wolf, and is most likely an offshoot of that animal, with characteristics somewhat changed by long domestication. In weight they averaged about one hundred pounds and are capable of carrying all day a burden of some thirty

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BLACKFEET

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492 pounds. This is effected by means of a device called by the Canadian French "travail," corrupted usually into travoy, traboy or travois. It consists of two poles, seven or eight feet long, spread something more than two feet apart at one end, approaching at the other just near enough to permit of the dog being harnessed between them. A sort of platform or basket connects them just in front of the center, upon which the load is designed to be secured. The harness is simply a collar and pad to which the travail is lashed. The introduction of the horse has relieved the dog of much of his former toil, but he is still employed to a certain extent, particularly by the squaws in collecting and bringing to the camp their little bundles of wood. When the horse is used as a beast of burden, he is sometimes provided with a travail similar to, but larger than that of the dogs.

GOVERNMENT

623 The internal affairs of a Blackfoot camp are managed
701 by means of a soldier's lodge. This lodge is a sort of a military organization, consisting usually of from twenty to one hundred men, according to the size of the village. It is thoroughly democratic in principle, no member enjoying a greater degree of authority than the rest. Its origin is lost in antiquity and its existence has the sanction of custom from a period when the memory of man kneweth not to the contrary. It is a permanent institution, never lapsing, and its members enjoy their positions for life or till expelled for worthlessness or bad conduct. When vacancies occur by death, resignation or expulsion, the lodge elects new members from among the best and bravest of the band, no worthless man having a shadow of a chance of receiving this honor. When a camp is pitched, near its center will be found a lodge reserved for the deliberations of the soldiers who repair there whenever any matter comes up for consideration. At other times the soldiers live in their own lodges with their families. The power and authority of the soldiers is great and it is rare that anyone thinks of resisting it or calling it in question. An

them only as static, sharply outlined, raw colored articles in electrically lighted museum cases. We must picture them in use among the hardy, restless, mobile Indians living in the bright sunlight of the open plains. In motion in the out-of-doors the outlines seem to become less harsh. In brilliant sunlight, and against bright blue sky, the intense colors seem very appropriate. [21]

The arts and crafts of the Blackfeet, generally, were similar to those of neighboring Indian tribes. Nevertheless, differences in detail gave to most of them a distinct tribal character. [71]

THE FOUR MAJOR CRAFTS

The primitive Blackfeet who hunted the wandering buffalo on the Northwestern Plains required material for clothing and shelter that would stand hard wear and could be transported easily in compact bundles. They found that the skins of the larger animals of their country—the buffalo, deer, elk, antelope and mountain sheep—admirably met these conditions. Lodge covers of buffalo cow skins could be folded tightly, packed on travois, and moved from one temporary camping place to another. Skin clothing not only wore well, and could be transported easily, but it was warm enough to afford protection against the bitter, sub-zero cold of northern winters. Containers of tough, durable, rain-proof rawhide or soft dressed skins made excellent storage and packing cases. Consequently, articles made of animal skins comprised a large and important part of the meagre possessions of the nomadic Blackfeet. The four major crafts of the Blackfeet are concerned primarily with the manufacture and ornamentation of articles fashioned from animal skins. These are the crafts of skin preparation and sewing, painting, quillwork and beadwork. 237 [136] [493] [132] [415]

SKIN PREPARATION AND SEWING

Although men were the hunters, the preparation of animal skins was women's work. [P-10-A] 281 462

The informants were questioned as to the size of the tipis when their ancestors used the tipi rings. They all agreed on the fact that the tipis were not large before their people acquired the horse. Several of them said that they heard of large tipis or tipi rings with two fireplaces during "horse days"; this tipi had to be taken apart when moving. George Bull Child, the interpreter, had interesting information on the size of the precontact lodge:

The tipis were not very large before my people got the horse. The dogs were bigger then, but they could not carry very much even though the travois made a load lighter. A certain dog would have to carry a tipi skin alone. The lodge poles would be smaller in those days, so that a dog could pull them. A big cover would be only ten skins then. Some fellows would say, "My tipi is six skins." A big chief would have ten skins. Later on, when they got the horse, eighteen to twenty skins was average. [10]

Adam White Man said that small tipi rings occurring in a camp of larger rings may have resulted from the smaller dwellings of widows, elderly people, and from children's play tipis.¹¹

All the informants were asked whether or not their people ever returned to the same campground and occupied the same tipi ring. Several of them thought that it was not the usual practice for their people to return to the same ring. Bull Head agreed with this but added, "It was not the usual practice for people to come back to the same ring, but my father did return to the one I am protecting. There is no reason to believe that my father considered he owned the tipi ring that he returned to." Information contrary to this was given by Annie Calf Looking:

Yes, my grandmother said that her people, the Don't Laugh band, would leave their rock ring and mark it.¹² No, she did not tell me where they camped but she did tell me that they marked their camp. They marked their own stone ring and they could not take another person's ring. If you wanted someone's ring, you would have to pay dearly for the spot.¹³ You would have to give robes, dogs or horses if you came and wanted to take someone's ring away. There was quite a dispute when someone came and took another person's camping ground. Each person would know right where their ring was located. When a person died, their brother could take the ring, give it to someone else, or leave it blank. People kept from taking a person's ring because they were afraid of the dead.

¹¹ In his letter of March 25, 1954, Ewers believes "the estimate given by this informant on the average size of the Blackfoot lodges in posthorse period to be excessive. My informants (independently) seemed to agree very well with Wisler that the average sized tipi was twelve to fourteen skins." (Italics mine.)

¹² A photograph confirming Adam White Man's statement was published by McClintock (1936, p. 10), in which two children are shown playing in a small tipi, the sides of which are held down by rocks. A modern example of this play tipi was photographed by the writer at the 1956 Blackfoot encampment (pls. 55, 5; 56, 5; 61, 5).

¹³ Cattle Black Boy claimed that the tipi ring was marked by buffalo horn cores left among the rocks of the ring.

¹⁴ Annie Calf Looking may be here confusing ownership of the ring (as a collection of rocks) with ownership of the right to camp in a certain position in the camp circle (see, e. g., Grinnell, 1920, p. 234).

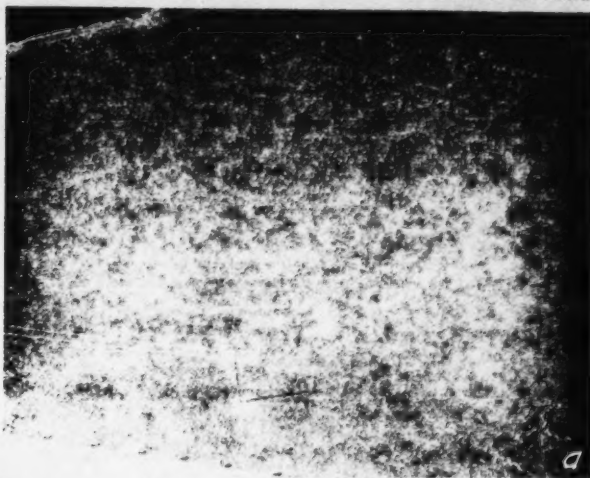
42: Kehoe

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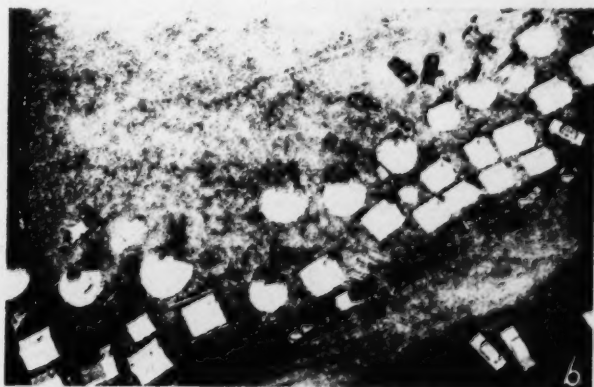
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BULLETIN 173 PLATE 38



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a. Aerial view of site 24GL350. Note similarity of tipi-ring pattern to arrangement of 1956 encampment lodges (below). b. Horizontal aerial view of the south row of tipis (Nos. 2 to 12 and 39), 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont. Note small play tipi below larger lodge, right center.

[p. 474-I]

42: Kehoe

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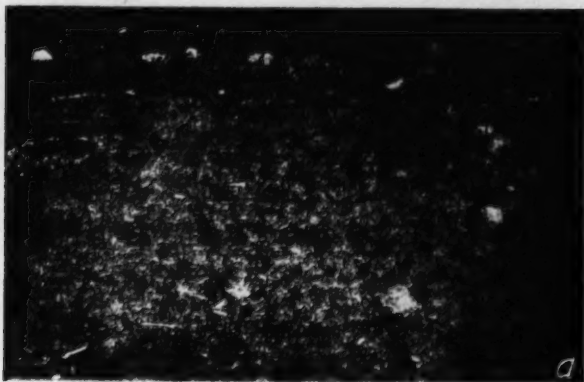


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a, Mary Ground in the center of the tipi ring left after removal of her tipi, Lodge 30, in breaking camp, 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont. b, Mary Ground's tipi ring and unlined fire hearth after her departure (see a).

[p.474-L]

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a, Closeup view of Mary Ground's tipi ring, site of Lodge 30, 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont. Dotted line indicates former position of tipi pegs (i. e., edge of lodge cover). Note lack of packing of grass along edge of ring. b, Blackfoot man using 2-foot-wide doorway of Lodge 2, 1956 encampment.

[P. 474-M]

HOW THE ANCIENT PEIGANS LIVED.

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they would put the travois on a horse. They had covered their saddles from one end to the other [with raw-hide]. They carried wood on them [on the travois and the saddles]. They had profit from the travois. They valued it very much. When they had done carrying wood with it, then they began to coil up the ropes, attached to the travois, [for fear] that they might be eaten [by the dogs]. And the old woman had [also] profit from her dog. She would say: Just put it [the dog] short [that means: just put the travois on its neck]. That way she got her wood.

Aiksistápunkox'tás, itáumatap-
ápaipiksim otoχkakinnánists.
Itáix'tsaipiksim otsistakiní, opák-
sátsis. Omí otánnankotokémi
éninniaie itotátsipótsim omístsi
otoχkakinnánists. Itauániu. Tá-
siksistáp. Itáumatapákimaists. A'-
kaisuiix'tsiu unnétoχki túkskúie
oxkítsikinani áukoχ'tokonikina-
nou. A'iksistákimaists. A'ukits-
apikinau. A'iszmákotsisúie, ákito-
pitsosinúie. Omístsim pákkix'-
pístsim ikatsiksisttom. Itótoyiu
omí ápótsii. A'nniaie ix'támsikau-
aie. O'máχkaiitoχkòsinni énni-
maie itáisapinsikáuaie. Aiksis-
táinikinau. Omístsim pákkix'-
pístsim nitsítsapox'tóm. Aká'χtsimaie
opékkimsikán. Itanístsiu ákéks:
Amóm káχtsítsiksistotakaxpau
nitsínikináni. Omí otánni ikau-
matapakímin omí osá'χkoxkúis.
A'iksistakíminai, otsítoχkokaie.
Ki omím imáikauim ix'pításoka-

When she had done getting her wood, then she began to put her leg-bones together. She pulled out her stone to hammer the bones on, [and] her stone-hammer. She put her leg-bones down on her half of a hide. She would say: I shall make grease [from the bones]. Then she began to hammer them. She had already put her real pot on the fire. She would make the soup with one of the leg-bones. She had done hammering them. Then she would put the mashed bones in [the pot]. When it had boiled a long time, then she would pull it from the fire. She had already put the cherries [near her]. She took a horn-spoon. With that she skimmed. She put her skimmed grease in a big [wooden] bowl. Then she had done skimming [the grease]. She put the cherries



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THE ORIGIN OF THE BEAVER BUNDLE

A long time ago there was a Blackfoot trapper and hunter who traveled about killing bear and buffalo and other large animals, and capturing eagles and trapping the small animals for their fur. One time he camped on the north side of Lower Saint Mary Lake, above the place where the bridge is built today. Years ago you could see the circle of rocks where the trapper pitched his lodge, but now the rocks have disappeared.

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One evening the trapper returned from checking his trapline to discover that his baby son was crying and that his wife was not in the lodge. He searched for his wife but could not find her. He could not even find her trail, so finally he decided that a bear must have killed her and carried her off.

That night, as the trapper sat in his lodge trying to comfort his baby son, a spirit person in the form of a man entered the lodge and spoke to him. The spirit person said, "I am here because I pity your poor child. Do not worry about your wife. She is in the lake, in the lodge of the Underwater Persons, and she is safe. I shall return to visit you again." Then the spirit person left.

On the following night the spirit man returned to the lodge and spoke to the trapper once again: "I have come to tell you what to do to get your wife back. In the lake is a small white beaver, the son of the Chief of the Beaver Persons. If you succeed in capturing the white beaver, your wife will be returned to you. I shall return again to tell you how to go about catching the beaver."

The next night the spirit man came into the trapper's lodge

ing Star]. But there are many of these songs, and they are very long, and if we do not wish to sing them we pick up the buffalo hooves and start dancing instead.

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The trapper said, "I am still not satisfied," and the Chief Beaver replied, "I have only three things left to give. I will put into the bundle my *it-tsi-wahn* [gambling wheel]; you should gamble with this wheel only before you go to war, so that you may have good luck. I will also put in a small stick that has been chewed by a beaver; when the Beaver Bundle is opened, he that is the first to take possession of this stick will have much good fortune. Finally, I will give you the seeds of the tobacco plant; put these seeds into the ground, and each year as you return from your travels to the place the seeds were planted you will find tobacco to smoke during your ceremonies."

The trapper said, "It is enough," and the Beaver Chief painted his face for him and transferred to his ownership the Beaver Bundle.

Then the Spirit Man—the spirit that had first come to the trapper in human form in order to tell him how to get his wife back—entered the lodge. He was leading two dogs, a male and a female, and the male dog was drawing a travois. He said, "Whenever you move camp you should carry the Beaver Bundle on the travois pulled by this dog. I am also giving you a female dog, so that dogs may multiply and you will never again have to carry your own burdens while moving camp."

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The spirit person who took on a human form in order to help the trapper was really the Sun. Each night, when his day's work was done, he took on the form of a man and came down to earth to help the trapper get his wife back and also to advise him about obtaining the Beaver Bundle from the Underwater Persons. When the trapper found out who the Spirit Man really was, he took for himself the name, *Nah-tòh-sey-i-néy-pey*: Brings Down The Sun. He was the first Blackfoot ever to have this name.

Finally the Chief leaned back in his chair and said, "*Kèn-yai-ai-wah-nay-náh-pli-quon*," signifying the end of the Beaver Bundle story. But it was still early, and we all felt conversational, and we chatted on about ships and sealing wax. The Chief said that he thinks I am a pretty good son, so he is going to will me some of this Montana land that I love so much. I was deeply touched, and I gave him my red-handled knife.

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101 Blood Reserve. Across the Belly River, adjacent to the community of Stand-off is the Stand-off colony of Hutterites, and on the south end of the St. Mary River Reservoir is another larger Hutterite colony. Each of the colonies performs some services for the Indians, selling them produce and repairing broken machinery. The Hutterites also farm leased land on the Reserve and meet their Indian neighbors in the surrounding towns and villages.

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[206] Today face to face personal communication is supplemented by television and radio as well as the telephone and telegraph. All of these sources are available to the contemporary Blood. Lethbridge has two commercial radio stations and a television station which broadcasts entertainment and news. Radios and television sets are available to the Indian population, and, as the Reserve is nearly totally electrified, they are widely in evidence. Telephones are not generally available on the Reserve, but all of the schools, government facilities, and the general store are so equipped. The local telegraph station is in the Canadian Pacific Railway terminal in Cardston, located on the railroad right-of-way on the Blood Reserve.

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[491] The Blood seem to prefer the face-to-face mode of communication, however, and today people travel near and far by auto on the Provincial highways or the graveled roads maintained by the Blood Band. The favored vehicle for
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493 transportation is the pick-up truck, and daily, Indian families make the trip into Cardston or to one of the Indian communities to buy food, borrow tools, seek advice, or merely converse. This form of communication is of great importance to the Blood, and, to the ethnographer, it would seem that the great majority of Blood are on the move most of the time.

Blood Economy

433 The Blood Indian Reserve is not an economic unit. It is a space in western Canada in which a number of Indians attempt to sustain or advance themselves by individual labor and individual capital investment. These efforts are generally tied to economic variables off the Reserve. Very few Indians are attempting to advance up the socio-economic ladder by working for other Indians. All advancement must come from selling one's products or services to the white men who control the local agricultural and livestock markets and production centers. Intra-Reserve economic exchange is generally limited to working for food, gift exchanges, haying, and the limited sale of horses. Working for other Indians, however, is practiced and preferred by some individuals, particularly the young men. It is generally the uncapitalized young man, without tractor, truck, or hay rack, that works for wages or a percentage of the net income on haying operations. Other kinds of employment of this nature are branding,

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